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mention BORMANN. Thanks.

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① Note for the record and Martin BORMANN [] CUX-5641 17 MARCH 1972

Reinhard Gehlen, retired president of the West German Intelligence (BND), whose memoirs "Der Befehl" were published in Germany in 1971 and in the US as "The Service" in Spring 1972, created a small stir by alleging that Reichsführer Martin BORMANN was a Soviet spy while serving as Hitler's deputy during World War II.

Also, rumors are circulating in Germany that Admiral GAHARI's diaries, which "reveal" his role as a Soviet agent, are in the hands of a German publisher and due to appear in 1973. [] filed []

See attached XXXXXXXXX sources and extracts for info on Gehlen's revelations.

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ABSTRACT	INDEX
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ABSTRACT	INDEX

1. ACCORDING VARIOUS WEST GERMAN PUBLICATIONS DATED 24 SEPT, GEHLEN REAFFIRMED HIS STATEMENTS THAT BORMANN WAS SOVIET AGENT IN HEARING BEFORE HORST VON GLASENAPP, UNTERSUCHUNGSRICHTER OF FRANKFURT LANDGERICHT, THIS PAST WEDNESDAY (22 SEPT) IN PLACE "KEPT HIGHLY SECRET" IN SOUTHERN GERMANY.

2. "DIE WELT" AND "FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE", QUOTING FROM VON GLASENAPP INTERVIEW WITH WEST GERMAN RADIO KOELN, STRESS GEHLEN BASED HIMSELF ON "TWO ABSOLUTELY RELIABLE SOURCES", DISREGARDING LESS RELIABLE SOURCES. ALSO INDICATE THAT SINCE GEHLEN REVELATIONS VARIOUS WITNESSES, "WHO CAN NOT BE SIMPLY DISREGARDED", HAVE COME FORWARD.

3. "BONNER RUNDSCHAU" STATES GEHLEN ASSERTION RE BORMANN CONNECTION TO "ROTE KAPELLE" BASED ON "INFORMATION FROM AMERICAN SOURCE" NOT HIS OWN. FURTHER NOTES THAT FEVERISH SEARCH GOING ON FOR ADMIRAL CANARIS DIARIES, WHICH "ACCORDING UNCONFIRMED REPORTS ARE IN UNITED STATES, AND

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BORMANN".

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BOOK CONTAINS FOLLOWING ALLEGED FACTS -

A. MARTIN BORMANN - TOP SOVIET AGENT SINCE BEGINNING 1943 AT LATEST. HIS DISAPPEARANCE EXPLAINED BY FACT HE FLED TO SOVIET UNION AFTER 1945 DEBACLE, DIED IN SOVIET UNION TWO YEARS AGO. CANARIS WAS CERTAIN AS EARLY AS WINTER 1941 THAT SOMEONE IN HITLER'S IMMEDIATE ENTOURAGE PASSING INFORMATION TO SOVIET HIGH COMMAND BUT, THOUGH HE KNEW BORMANN HAD THE "ONLY UNCONTROLLED RADIO TRANSMITTER" IN GERMANY, WAS UNABLE CONDUCT INVESTIGATION OR SURVEILLANCE BECAUSE OF BORMANN'S HIGH POSITION. ALLEGEDLY FOR THIS REASON BORMANN INSISTED CANARIS BE EXECUTED LATE SPRING 1945 WHEN EXECUTION MADE NO SENSE. AUTHOR CLAIMS RECEIVED TWO REPORTS AFTER 1960 CONFIRMING BORMANN'S PRESENCE IN SOVIET UNION.

Initials
BHD
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B. GESTAPO HEINRICH MUELLER FLED TO SOVIET UNION 1945.
5. RECOGNIZE ALL ABOVE POSSIBLY WELL KNOWN HEADQUARTERS.

STATIONTAKING NO ACTION PENDING HIS COMMENTS/INSTRUCTIONS.

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General's Memoirs Call Bormann a Soviet Spy

By HENRY RAYMONT

A manuscript described as the memoirs of Gen. Reinhard Gehlen, former head of the West German intelligence service, asserts that Martin Bormann, Hitler's top lieutenant, was a Soviet agent during World War II.

It also says that after the war Bormann became an adviser on German policy in the Soviet Union and that he died there less than three years ago.

These assertions about the Nazi leader who was last seen leaving Hitler's bunker in Berlin in 1945, are contained in a forthcoming book that General Gehlen is said to have written since his retirement in 1965. The book is reported to be commanding offers approaching \$1-million for world publication rights, following at least six months of secret negotiations that in themselves resemble an episode of international intrigue.

The memoirs discount previous accounts of Bormann's fate, which presumed him either to have died outside Hitler's bunker in Berlin or to be hiding in South America.

In fact, the memoirs say, as the Russians closed in on the bunker, the Nazi leader crossed their lines and gained sanctuary in the Soviet Union. The information is attributed to a series of "unimpeachable" reports, presumably from General Gehlen's agents in the Soviet Union. The last report, which brought word of the death, came in 1969.

The account of Bormann's double role is one of many details of East-West intrigue in the reminiscences of General Gehlen, who was chief intelligence officer of the Wehrmacht

on the Russian front and was recruited after the war by United States intelligence. He eventually became director of the Bundes Nachrichten-Dienst, West Germany's secret service, service and the Wehrmacht intelligence agencies.

The existence of the mem-

oirs—and negotiations for their world rights to the manuscript—outside Germany have been made by the World Publishing Company, a subsidiary of the Times Mirror Company of Los Angeles, and Avon Books, a paperback publisher owned by the first Corporation. The publishing house of William Collins in London is also known to have offered \$100,000 for the British rights.



Reinhard Gehlen, former West German intelligence chief, in World War II.

despite a reputation as the man who built West Germany's intelligence apparatus into the world's most effective anti-Communist espionage network.

General Gehlen, who made his reputation as an analyst of Soviet strategy on the Russian front, went underground as the war ended to surrender with his entire staff to Gen. George S. Patton's Third Army with an offer to cooperate with the victors.

In 1947, the newly created Central Intelligence Agency authorized him to establish a full-scale German intelligence organization, which he staffed largely with professionals from the disbanded S.S. security

service and the Wehrmacht intelligence agencies. People who say they are familiar with the 69-year-old general's thinking say fear of reprisals against his family and a distaste to have his views used in internal West German political controversies explain his continued reluctance to receive visitors.

If this has indeed been General Gehlen's attitude, information about the manuscript that became available in recent days indicates a drastic change. For instance, it contains a detailed analysis of Soviet political and military goals for the next two decades as well as an urgent plea for a Western military buildup to contain Communist expansion.

The announcement would be the first public acknowledgment of at least six months of secret negotiations for the publication of the books that in themselves resemble an episode

The announcement would be the first public acknowledgment of the existence of the Gehlen memoirs and the negotiations, which have included secret trials by United States and British publishers to Germany and an almost clandestine typesetting operation by the conservative Hamburg newspaper Die Welt, which plans to begin serializing the book on Sept. 10.

According to information assembled from publishers here and in West Germany, the Gehlen memoirs were first offered for sale early this year by Volker Hansen, director of Hass & Köhler, a small, 182-year-old publishing house in Mainz known for books on military subjects. Mr. Hansen, whose father was a German intelligence officer during World War II, said he held power of attorney for General Gehlen.

Over the last three months several United States and British publishers went to Mainz, where they were allowed to see as many as three chapters of the 12-chapter manuscript. Requests to visit General Gehlen at his home in Bavaria were turned down on the ground that he wished to remain secluded during the negotiations. However, the publishers were told the general intended to make public appearances to promote the book after its publication.

Mr. Hansen's refusal to disclose the full text combined with the unavailability of its author led to some speculation about whether the memoirs had actually been written by General Gehlen.

But publishing sources, both here and in West Germany, assert that they have confirmed the reliability of the material through people close to the intelligence community of both countries.

Martin P. Levin, chairman of the board of World Publishing, said: "We are totally convinced that the memoirs are authentic. We are equally convinced that they will create an international sensation."

Mr. Levin said the authenticity of the manuscript had been verified by Peter Ritner, World's chief editor, with the help of Georg Bailey, an author formerly connected with United States military intelligence in Germany, when the two men visited Mainz late last month.

Two years ago, Mr. Ritner, then working for the Macmillan Company, was the editor of Albert Speer's "Inside the Third Reich," a best seller that is said to have contributed to General Gehlen's decision to

issue his own memoirs.

The report that the general

argued for a tougher policy of containment suggests that the publication of the memoirs is certain to be welcomed by the foes of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, his policy to improve relations with the Soviet bloc.

This is the reason given by German publishing sources why the German newspaper serial rights were acquired by Die Welt, whose owner, Axel Springer, is an influential critic of the Brandt government. Die Welt is reported to have paid \$250,000 for the serial rights.

Rüdiger Freiherr von Wechmar, Chancellor Brandt's spokesman, said in an interview from Bonn yesterday that the Government had not been aware of the impending serialization of the Gehlen memoirs. However, he said that high officials had known about the existence of "an alleged Gehlen manuscript" and were investigating whether there had been any violation of laws restraining former civil servants from revealing state secrets.

The plan to rush the manuscript into print coincided with the publication of a critical Gehlen biography written by Heinz Höhne, an editor of the Hamburg weekly news magazine Der Spiegel, which supports Chancellor Brandt. The Höhne book will be issued in Germany on Sept. 19, and an English translation is to be published here next year by Coward, McCann, Geoghegan.

In offering the book by Gehlen to prospective foreign publishers, Mr. Hansen is understood to have made the point that neither Mr. Höhne nor the author of another forthcoming Gehlen biography, E. H. Cookridge, have interviewed the former intelligence chief nor seen his memoirs.

A portion of the text of the memoirs, including the account of the Bormann case, was distributed by Mr. Hansen as evidence that General Gehlen's book would contain important and hitherto unpublished materials.

The memoirs say that the revelations about Bormann, the man Hitler named as his successor, "offer the key to one of the most enigmatic cases of our century."

The author says that he first heard suspicions voiced about Bormann in a private conversation in 1941 with Adm. Wilhelm Canaris, head of the Nazi counter-espionage service, who was executed for his role in the July 1944, plot to assassinate Hitler.

According to the memoirs, although Bormann was believed

to have ties to Die Rote Kapelle, a famous Soviet espionage cell in Nazi Germany, the Nazi leader was never placed under surveillance for fear that he would use his influence to destroy the intelligence service.

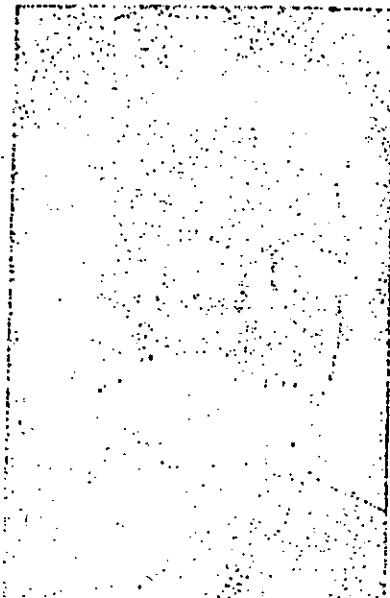
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DIE WELT
13 SEPTEMBER 1971

Zu Gehlens Bericht über Bormann

„Ich sah
ihn bei
den Russen“

Gertrud von Heimerdinger, Tochter eines Generals und von 1921 bis 1945 Angestellte des Auswärtigen Amtes, hat am Wochenende vor einem Notar an Eides Statt erklärt, sie habe Reichsleiter Martin Bormann Mitte Juni 1945 in Berlin im Gebäude des heutigen Kriminalgerichts Moabit in sowjetischer Gewahrsam gesehen. Wenig später habe ihr ein sowjetischer Vernehmungsoffizier gesagt: „Den Bormann haben wir jetzt nach Rußland geschafft.“ Frau von Heimerdinger, die aktiv am Widerstand gegen Adolf Hitler beteiligt war, wurde seinerzeit selbst von den Sowjets in Moabit vernommen. Sie ist sich sicher.



Gertrud von Heimerdinger:
Foto: Manfred Neck

Bormann im Gang stehend und von Sowjetsoldaten umringt erkannt zu haben. Ihre vor einem Notar zu Protokoll gegebene Aussage lesen Sie auf Seite 2.

Von BERND NELLESSEN und WERNER JOHE

Für den Ausbruchsversuch Martin Bormanns aus dem Führerbunker in der Nacht zum 2. Mai 1945 gibt es viele Zeugen, doch ihre Aussagen widersprechen einander. Die zweite WELT-Folge berichtet über die Versionen, die dem Schicksal des Mannes galten, der verschwunden blieb, dessen Tod aber bezweifelt wird.

In einer der kleinen Gruppen, die am 1. Mai 1945 gegen 23 Uhr den Führerbunker, unter der Reichskanzlei verlassen, befindet sich ein untersetzter Mann in der Uniform eines SS-Obergruppenführers. Über demfeldgrauen Tuch trägt er einen Ledermantel; in den Taschen stecken das persönliche Testament Adolfs Hitlers und ein privates Tagebuch. Es ist Martin Bormann.

Die Gruppe überquert hastig die Wilhelmstraße, verschwindet im U-Bahnhof Wilhelmplatz und marschiert dann, den Gleisen folgend, zum Bahnhof Friedrichstraße. Dort taucht sie wieder auf, wenige Meter von den an der Spree stehenden sowjetischen Soldaten entfernt. Die Gruppe will versuchen, unter dem Schutz von Panzern die Weidendammer Brücke zu überqueren. Beim

Ausbruchsversuch explodiert ein Panzer im sowjetischen Feuer. Die in seinem Schutz stürmenden Männer werden zu Boden geschleudert und bleiben minutenlang liegen.

Unter ihnen befinden sich der Chauffeur Adolf Hitlers, Erich Kempka, der Reichsjugendführer Artur Axmann, der Staatssekretär im Propagandaministerium Werner Naumann, der Pilot Hitlers, Hans Baur, Hitlers Leibarzt Ludwig Stumpfegger. Sie alle sind Zeugen für Bormanns Schicksal in dieser Nacht. Doch was sie bekunden, reiht sich nicht.

Viele Widersprüche

Als Kempka und Baur sich aus dem Gefahrenbereich retten, sind sie überzeugt, Bormann sei bei der Explosion

Jagd
nach einem
Totgesagten

Reinhard Gehlen berichtet in seinen Memoiren, Martin Bormann sei ein sowjetischer Agent gewesen und in der Sowjetunion gestorben. Die WELT nahm diese Aussage aus den Memoiren, aus denen wir weitere Teile veröffentlichen werden, zum Anlaß, den Fakten und Vermutungen über das Leben des engsten Vertrauten Adolf Hitlers nachzugehen. Dem ersten Bericht der dreiteiligen WELT-Folge über Karriere und Einfluß Bormanns folgt heute die Darstellung der widersprüchlichen Versionen über Bormanns Schicksal nach dem Sturm der Russen auf Berlin im April 1945.

ums Leben gekommen. Im Nürnberger Prozeß wird Kempka später diese Aussage beschwören. In den Nachkriegsjahren melden sich viele, die — wenn auch in Details voneinander abweichend — gleichfalls bezeugen, daß Bormann sein Ende an der Weidendammer Brücke gefunden habe.

Sie alle müssen sich geirrt haben. Denn 1963 erklärte Werner Naumann in einer Vernehmung vor dem Staatsanwalt in Frankfurt: „In einem Trichter neben der Weidendammer Brücke traf sich ein kleiner Rest unserer Gruppe. Es mögen elf Mann gewesen sein. Zu ihnen gehörten Martin Bormann und Axmann. Ferner erinnere ich mich noch an einen Arzt Dr. Stumpfegger.“ Laut Naumann zog der Trupp auf den Balinsteilen weiter in Richtung Lehrter Bahnhof. Bei einem Zusammenstoß mit sowjetischen Soldaten trennen sie sich: „Ich weiß nicht mehr, wer mit Bormann zusammen ging. Ich weiß aber, daß Herr Bormann in diesem Augenblick noch gelebt hat.“

Dies bestätigte auch Artur Axmann. Er gab zu Protokoll, daß eine der abgespalteten Gruppen aus ihm, Bormann, Stumpfegger und anderen bestanden habe. Erst nach Erreichen der Invalidenstraße hätten sich Bormann und Stumpfegger auf der Suche nach einem Schlupfloch von den anderen getrennt. Wenig später stieß Axmann wieder auf

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Continued

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Bormann und Stumpfegger. Aber beide waren tot. „Ihre Gesichter waren klar zu erkennen. Ich sah Bormann am. Keine Reaktion. Ich bogte mich über ihn und vereinigte keinen Atem. Wunden oder Blutspuren waren nicht zu erkennen. Ob sie Gift genommen hatten?“

So widersprüchlich schon diese wenigen Aussagen über das Bormannsche Ausbruchunternehmen. In der Nacht zum 2. Mai sind, so verworren wird alles bleiben, was nach 1945 über Bormann gemeldet, vermutet und ermittelt wird. Die Historiographen der nationalsozialistischen Zeit lassen Bormanns Ende offen. Sie registrieren allenfalls mögliche Hypothesen; kein einziger ernsthafter Historiker entscheidet sich für eine, weil keine ihm gesichert genug erscheint.

Um so mehr nahm sich die Publizistik des Falles Bormann an. Die Meldungen und Berichte, seriös wie unseriös, wurden zur Legion. Von der ersten im Kölner Nachrichtenblatt der Militärregierung am 14.6.1945 publizierten Meldung, Bormann sei verhaftet, bis hin zu dem mit homerischem Gelächter quittierten Reinform der Illustrierten „Stern“, als sie versuchte, Bormann zu interviewen – ein Labyrinth, in dem es nicht an Spinngeweben und Füllbüstern fehlt.

Wo ist Martin Bormann nicht überall gesehen, geortet worden, als Landarbeiter in Tirol, als Mönch im römischen Franziskanerkloster, als Gaucho in der Pampa, als Kolonist am Parana, als Tourist in Schweden, als Elefantenspaziergang im Wunderzirkus, als reicher Mann in Santiago. Eine der gängigsten Thesen besagt, er lebe, wie der Auschwitz-Arzt Mengelkoch, von Leibwächtern bewacht, im Dreiländereck Argentinien, Brasilien und Paraguay. Bormann, lebte er noch, wäre jetzt 71 Jahre alt.

Viele Jäger

Einer der eifrigsten Verfechter der These, Bormann halte sich in Südamerika verborgen, ist Simon Wiesenthal, Leiter des jüdischen Dokumentationszentrums in Wien und erfolgreicher Verfolger untergetauchter Nazi-Funktionäre. Er glaubt zumindest nachweisen zu können, daß Bormann in Südamerika lebe. Erfolg aber hatte er in der Suche nach Bormann ebenso wenig wie der israelische Geheimdienst.

Nach Ansicht einiger Reporter schien die Südamerika-Spur erstmals 1964 heiß zu werden. Das Bilderblatt „Stern“ schrieb Briefe an einen vermeintlichen Mittelsmann, der den „Stern“-Reportern den lebhaften Bormann zum Stelldeich servieren wollte. Große Versprechungen über Vertraulichkeit und publizistische Aufmachung wurden schriftlich gegeben, als Beweis für standhafte Verschwiegenheit auf den Handel mit den Volkischer Madonnen-Dieben verwiesen. Um Bormanns persönliches Urteil über die Vergangenheit und seine Meinung über die Gegenwart – die doch wahrlich unumstritten sind – „verkaufen“ zu können und den alten Antisemiten gesprächig zu machen, schenkte der „Stern“ nicht davor zurück, sich in einem Brief an den Mittelsmann bereit zu erklären, mit Nachdruck darzustellen, daß die Verfolgung bestimmar Personen durch einen Nahost-Staat, wie

immer von diesem Staat beurteilt, zweifellos einen Rechtsbruch darstellt. Selbst dieser Kompromiß zähle sich nicht aus. Das Ganze entpuppte sich als großer Schinarro.

Trotz aller Fehlschläge und Reinfälle aber verlor die Südamerika-Hypothese nicht an Attraktivität. Daß gerade Südamerika als Bormanns Zuflucht immer wieder genannt wird, hat viele Gründe. Unter das Kreuz des Südens zog es manchen alten Nazi. Dort wurde Eichmann, wurde Stangl aufgestöbert. Ausgedehnte deutsche Kolonistengebiete, in denen einige den Nationalsozialismus durch eine allzu beschlagene Brille betrachten, boten sich als Asyl an. Länder, in denen man durch Geld und gute Freunde begoumer als anderswo eine neue Identität erreichen und in der Weite der Landschaft die Spuren der Vergangenheit leichter verschwinden kann, mussten den Flüchtlingen wie eine rettende Insel erscheinen. Dennoch bleibt es merkwürdig, daß Bormann wie andere Gesuchte nicht in Japan, Indien oder Pakistan, sondern stets in Lateinamerika vermutet werden.

Diese Orientierung auf Südamerika hat auch ihre politischen Motive. Es ist kein Zufall, daß die Propaganda des Ostblocks den vermuteten Aufenthalt Bormanns in Übersee kontinuierlich dazu benutzt, eine ideologische Verbindung zwischen der „faschistischen“ Bundesrepublik und den die entwickelten Nazi-Führern schützenden Oligarchien und Diktaturen herzustellen.

1965 erschien in Ost-Berlin das Buch des sowjetischen Historikers und Publizisten Lew Resymenski „Auf den Spuren von Martin Bormann“ – ein typisches Beispiel für die Behandlung des Falles Bormann in der Publizistik des Ostblocks. Es geht dem Verfasser nicht um die Suche nach Bormann, sondern um den Nachweis, daß Bormanns Erben und Beschützer die Bundesrepublik beherrschen.

Auch solche Vorwürfe veranlaßten den Generalstaatsanwalt von Hessen, Fritz Bauer, ein Ermittlungsverfahren einzuleiten. Bauer war überzeugt davon, daß Bormann Berlin lebend verlassen habe. Er begann mit seinen Nachforschungen, wie schon so manche vor ihm, wieder in Berlin, ließ die am Ausbruchsversuch Beteiligten vernahmen und setzte für „Hinweise zur Ergreifung des lebenden Bormann“ eine Belohnung von 100 000 DM aus. Sie wartet heute noch auf ihren Empfänger.

Die Ermittlungsbeamten stießen auf eine Spur, die das Ende des Verfahrens zu bedeuten schien. Der pensionierte Berliner Postbeamte Albert Krumnow gab zu Protokoll, er habe am 8. Mai 1945 zusammen mit drei Kollegen vom Postamt am Lehrter Bahnhof auf russischen Befehl hin zwei Leichen nahe der Invalidenstraße begraben müssen. Es habe sich um einen großen und um einen kleineren, untersetzten Mann gehandelt. Der größere der beiden trug Ausweise auf den Namen Dr. Stumpfegger bei sich, bei dem anderen wurden keine Papiere gefunden. Die Staatsanwälte erinnerten sich der Angaben von Artur Asmann, der Bormann und Stumpfegger tot an der Invalidenstraße gefunden haben wollte.

Um letzte Gewißheit über den nun nahezu sicherem Beweis für Bormanns Tod zu erzielen, wurde im Juli 1965 das ganze fragliche Terrain umgegraben, aber gefunden wurde nichts. Das Verfahren wurde deshalb nicht eingestellt; es läuft heute noch, „befrachtet mit einer Flut von massiven bis vagen Gerüchten“, wie der Untersuchungsrichter Horst von Glasenapp der WELT in der vergangenen Woche erklärte. Die Bormann-Akten der Frankfurter Justiz füllen bereits mehr als 30 Ordner.

Vier Versionen über den Mann nach Hitler

Unabhängig von deutschen Stellen hatte sich 1953 der amerikanische Geheimdienst CIA mit Martin Bormann beschäftigt. Ihm veranlaßte dazu die Entdeckung einer aktiven Clique alter Nazis, die in die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik als „Vulkan-Affäre“ eingegangen ist. Um nachzuprüfen, ob Martin Bormann mit dieser Clique in Verbindung stand, setzte der CIA-Agenten an. Wie deren Suche nach Bormann in anderen Ländern ohne Ergebnis blieb, so brachten auch die Nachforschungen in der Bundesrepublik und Berlin nicht mehr als einige Fallstudien ein. Der amerikanische Sachbearbeiter James McGovern veröffentlichte sie 1965 in seinem in den USA erschienenen Buch „Martin Bormann. Vier Modelle als Anregung zum Nachdenken“ boten sich dem CIA-Mann an:

1. Die Russland-Version

„Bormann war ein Agent. Da er immer ein Opportunist gewesen war, stellte er sich dem sowjetischen Nachrichtendienst zur Verfügung, als es klar wurde, daß die Säule des Nationalsozialismus verloren war. Er übermittelte den Sowjets Informationen über die Absichten des Führers und die Strategie des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht und eteilte dadurch den Sieg der Russen sicher. Als Belohnung für diese Dienste ermöglichten ihm die Russen nach der Besetzung Berlins, zur Invalidenbrücke zu flüchten und sich dort tot zu stellen. Dann wurde er von einer sowjetischen Patrouille abgeholt und nach Russland gebracht, wo er als führender Sowjetexperte für deutsche Fragen ein komfortables Leben führte. Sobald sich die Gelegenheit bot, würde er nach Deutschland als sowjetischer Kommissar zurückkehren.“

2. Die England-Version

Es sei Bormann gewesen, der Rudolf Hess zum England-Flug überredet und dann für den englischen Geheimdienst gearbeitet habe. Bormann sei es gelungen, sich nach Flön durchzuschlagen, von wo ihn britische Agenten nach Großbritannien gebracht hätten. Dort habe er als Berater für deutsche Angelegenheiten gewirkt.

3. Die Südamerika-Version

Bormann gelang es, mit einem U-Boot nach Argentinien zu fliehen. Dort habe er ehemalige Nazi-Funktionäre mit dem Ziel um sich geschart, „ein Viertes Reich mit Bormann als Führer zu gründen“.

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Diese drei Modelle verwarf McGovern. Ein vierter schien ihm wahrscheinlicher. Es ging von der Annahme aus, Bormann sei mit Stumpfegger bis zur Invalidenstraße geflohen, habe dann aber Zyankali genommen, weil ihm alle Fluchtwege abgeschnitten schienen.

Dies ist nahezu identisch mit den Angaben, die Arthur Asmann neun Jahre nach der CIA-Studie vor deutschen Untersuchungserichtern machen wird.

Mit großer Vorgesetzter erweiterte diese vierte Version durch zusätzliche Informationen, die er aus „höchsten Kreisen der sowjetischen Regierung“ erhalten haben will. Danach wurde Bormann von russischen Offizieren identifiziert. Sie fanden sein Tagebuch in seiner Tasche. „Die roten Offiziere ließen die Leiche von Angestellten des Lehrter Pestamtes begraben. Nachdem sie eine entsprechende Meldung nach Moskau geschickt und dann weitere Anweisungen erhalten hatten, kehrten die russischen Offiziere jedoch zu dem Grab zurück, gruben die Leiche Bormanns aus, brachten sie an einen abgeschiedenen Ort in Ostdeutschland und bestatteten sie erneut in einem nicht näher gekennzeichneten Grab.“

Erinnern wir uns der Aussage des Postbeamten Kruninow und der erfolglosen Leichensuche 1965 an der Invalidenstraße, so gewinnt diese Version an Wahrscheinlichkeit. Sie würde auch erklären, wie das Tagebuch Martin Bormanns in die Hände der Sowjets gefallen sein könnte. Daß sie es besitzt, hatte der CIA im Zuge dieser Ermittlungen von der „Organisation Gehlen“ erfahren. Befragt, ob sie auch etwas über Martin Bormann wisse, antwortete die „Organisation Gehlen“, er befindet sich „weder in der DDR noch in der Sowjetunion“.

Das war 1953. Hat Gehlen damals seinen amerikanischen Auftraggebern Kenntnisse vorenthalten, oder kam er erst später in den Besitz von Informationen, die bestätigen, was er jetzt in seinen Memoiren schreibt?

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LOS ANGELES TIMES

14 SEP 1971

INDUCEMENT TO SPYING

Paper Says Russians Blackmailed Bormann

Exclusive to The Times from Reuters

MALMOE, Sweden — Martin Bormann, Adolf Hitler's right-hand man, became a Soviet agent in 1920, a Swedish newspaper reported Monday.

The information was attributed to former Czechoslovak President Edward Benes' intelligence chief.

The report in the Social Democratic Arbetet by a Czechoslovak journalist, writing under the pseudonym of Pavel Havelka, said Soviet dictator Josef Stalin confided to President Benes that Bormann was a Russian agent.

The journalist said he was given the information by the president's intelligence chief, Josef Bartik, in February, 1938, but did not publish it until now because he doubted that anyone would believe him.

Changed His Mind

He changed his mind when Gen. Reinhard Gehlen, the former West German intelligence chief, claimed in his memoirs that Bormann had spied for the Russians and had crossed to the Soviet Union after the war. Serialization of the memoirs has begun in a number of newspapers.

Bormann was not working for the Russians because of ideological conviction but because of Soviet blackmail, Havelka wrote. He was fighting in a Baltic legion against the Bolsheviks in 1920 when he was captured. To gain his freedom he signed a pledge to become a Russian agent.

When the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, the Russians searched their files for potential German agents and found Bormann's 21-year-old pledge. He was immediately presented with a copy and pressed into service, Havelka said.

Havelka quoted President Benes as telling Bartik in 1946, when the death sentences imposed at the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal had been carried out: "If Bormann is still alive, at least he will not be executed as he is Stalin's agent."

Havelka, who has written for Arbetet several times in the past, said President Benes was flattered that Stalin had confided in him. He believed that he was the only non-Communist leader to have been told the truth about Bormann.

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TIGE
20 SEP 1971

The Bornmann Enigma

Despite his penchant for secrecy, aliases and bulletproof cars, and his aversion to photographers and public appearances, his notoriety as a superspy has always made General Reinhard Gehlen a controversial figure. As head of German military intelligence on the Eastern Front during World War II, Gehlen so infuriated Hitler with his precise predictions of Soviet victories that *der Führer* ordered him sent to an insane asylum. Instead, he fled to the Bavarian Alps, and later made a deal with the invading Americans: 50 cases of secret data on the Red Army in return for U.S. financial and political backing for what became Bonn's post-war espionage organization, the *BND* (*Bundesnachrichtendienst*). An obsessive anti-Communist, Gehlen helped plot some of the crucial undercover moves of the cold war. But the shadowy chief of German intelligence was forced into retirement at the age of 66 in 1968, partly because two of his aides were found to be Soviet double agents. Now Gehlen has again stirred up a controversy —this time with his forthcoming memoirs, *Der Dienst* (The Service).

Hated and Feared. The book is said to have brought \$175,000 for its serialization, starting last week in the West German newspaper *Die Welt*, and over \$500,000 has reportedly been bid by a group of book publishers led by the World Publishing Co. in New York. Gehlen claims to have known about the Berlin Wall before it went up, to have been aware of plans for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia before it occurred, and to have correctly predicted the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. Perhaps his most startling assertion is that missing Nazi War Criminal Martin Bormann was really a Soviet agent who died in the Soviet Union less than three years ago.

A more shadowy figure than Gehlen himself, *Reichsleiter* (National Leader) Bormann rose from an obscure fund raiser for the Nazi Party to become the second most powerful official of the Third Reich. The short, stocky Bormann was Secretary to the Führer, Director of the Party Chancellery, and one of the most hated and feared men in Hitler's Germany.

After he replaced Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess in 1941, he exercised virtual control over everyone Hitler saw and everything Hitler read. As executor of Hitler's estate, he was the first to enter the room in the *Führerbunker* after Hitler's suicide. Turning the government over to Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, Bormann fled the bunker on the night of May 1, 1945, in an attempt to slip through the tightening Soviet ring of tanks and troops only 300 yards away. Somewhere between the bunker and Friedrichstrasse Station, Martin Bormann vanished.

Mountain Hideout. It is here that the mystery surrounding Bormann begins. At the 1945-46 Nuremberg trials, when Bormann was sentenced to death *in absentia* for his war crimes, two men claimed that he died on the night of May 1 before reaching the Friedrichstrasse Station. But his corpse was never found, and four weeks later his voice was reportedly heard over a secret radio station in Stockholm, triggering rumors that have not yet ceased.

Since January 1946, there have been reports of sightings of Bormann from a dozen or more countries. In 1954 he was officially declared dead by a West German court, but in 1964 the War Crimes Office in Frankfurt, obviously convinced he was still alive, posted a \$25,000 reward for Bormann's capture. Meanwhile, Nazi Hunter Simon Wiesenthal claimed in *The Murderers Among Us*, that Hitler's deputy had been smuggled out of Germany to South America by the Nazi underground escape organization. Wiesenthal said that on several occasions Bormann was seen nightclubs with "the Mad Doctor of Auschwitz," Josef Mengele, who is now hiding in the jungles of Paraguay. Later, according to Wiesenthal, Bormann set up a colony of ex-Nazis in Argentina near the mountain town of Bariloche, where he remains today at the age of 71, well protected by thugs and armed guards.

High-Level Leak. What, then, of Gehlen's allegations in *Die Welt* that Hitler's alter ego was a Soviet agent, rescued that fateful night in 1945 by Red Army soldiers and whisked off to the U.S.S.R. to continue his anti-German work? It is an established fact that there was a high-level leak of Nazi secrets to the Soviets. According to the first installment of Gehlen's memoirs, both he and his *Ahwehr* (Army counter-intelligence) superior, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, "came to the conviction that the Soviets must have at their disposal a well-informed intelligence source at the top of the German leadership," and that this source was Bormann. Gehlen says that he received two dependable reports in the 1950s that "Martin Bormann lived perfectly covered and protected in the Soviet Union" after the war and later information that he had died there. But Gehlen's first installment provides sparse proof for his allegations.

Hitler's successor, Admiral Dönitz, now 80, called the Gehlen theory "complete nonsense." Tass described it as a

"fabrication" aimed at disrupting attempts for an East-West *détente* in Europe. Certainly the manuscript, which contains a detailed analysis of Soviet political and military goals for the next two decades and calls for a parallel buildup of Western military strength, can only be welcomed by foes of Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*. This would include *Die Welt* Owner Axel Springer, whose criticism of the Brandt government borders on frenzy. Gehlen's memoirs could also be an overdramatized effort at self-justification.

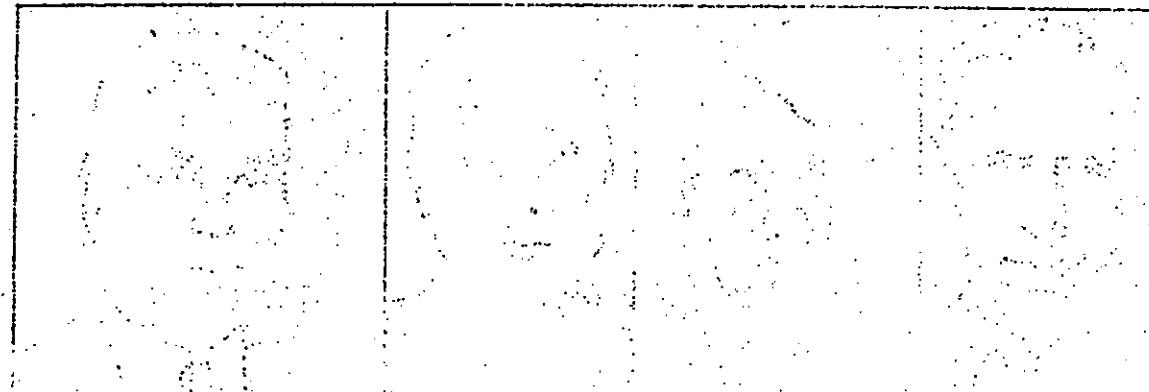
For all that, there is at least some support for Gehlen's astonishing thesis. A 1947 book called *Who Killed Hitler?* states: "Russian intelligence reported Bormann under arrest, a prisoner of the Red Army in the Berlin area in early July 1945—two months after Berlin's capture!" An International News Service story in 1950 quotes Wilhelm Hoeltl, a Nazi secret service expert, as saying that Bormann and other former German officials were running a bureau in the U.S.S.R. to "reorganize Germany, East and West, along the lines of a people's democracy."

Craig Kyan, author of *The Last Days of Hitler*, in a 1966 interview that a German general "told me he once had a secret meeting with Hitler, with Bormann the only other man present. Hitler gave orders about a change in command on the Eastern Front. Within hours the Russian radio broadcast the names of the generals who would be replaced, who would take over, and specific details on new strategy."

Skeptics and Questioners. Top Allied intelligence sources in Germany are skeptical. They wonder why Gehlen did not turn over the information he had to the West German government, if he indeed had real evidence Bormann was a Soviet spy. The War Crimes Office in Frankfurt has announced that once the book is published, it will call Gehlen in for questioning, particularly since his intelligence agency was never able to unearth any clues to Bormann's whereabouts. Bonn officials are also studying the possibility that Gehlen may have broken the law by not making evidence in his possession available to the government.

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Otto John, Martin Bormann, Adolf Hitler, Wilhelm Canaris, Richard Gehlen

By OTTO JOHN

KATZENBUNDEGEN, West Germany — As a "traitor" who was once "unmasked" by Herr Richard Gehlen, the retired German intelligence chief, I would like to say something about Herr Gehlen's memoirs, already published in West Germany and soon to be published in "unexpurgated" form in the United States.

I was the head of West German counterespionage in July, 1954, when I was abducted from West Berlin by the Soviet K.G.B. That action by the Soviet intelligence service cleared the way for Herr Gehlen's rise to the top of Dr. Konrad Adenauer's secret service.

At that time Herr Gehlen called me a "traitor." Now, I want to ask the question: Is it not treason to publish in the United States top-secret material banned from publication in West Germany?

What is treason? It depends from which side you look. "Once a traitor, always a traitor," said Gehlen to my superiors in the Bonn Ministry of Interior after I disappeared and surfaced in East Berlin.

Queried as to what he meant, Geh-

len answered that John had committed treason in making contacts with the enemy during the war (which I had done, in fact, on behalf of the resistance against Hitler) and that I, therefore, would commit treason again and again.

I dare to say that I have always remained true to myself. I was a radical opponent of Hitler and fought him, right from the beginning, until I escaped from Berlin to London after the failure of our revolt against Hitler on July 20, 1944. I did not owe any loyalty to Hitler. What about Gehlen?

By the time the Wehrmacht was doomed to unconditional surrender Gehlen had become the most trusted top adviser to Hitler on all intelligence matters concerning Russia. He owed loyalty to Hitler because as an ardent believer he had sworn loyalty to him. He had shared and enjoyed Hitler's political success and military victories. In the midst of defeat, however, he deserted his Führer, as did Göring, Himmler and many others. He defected, taking Hitler's secret intelligence archives to the victorious American Army. If any one was a traitor

according to moral standards of the Wehrmacht, Gehlen was!

Gehlen's memoirs are boosted as best-seller by means of a feeble-minded, fanatical and false statement contending that Martin Bormann, Hitler's deputy, was a Soviet spy.

"Two reliable informants assured me in the fifties," writes Gehlen, "that Martin Bormann was alive in the Soviet Union under perfect cover. The former head of Hitler's Chancery defected to the Soviets whilst the Red Army occupied Berlin. He then lived as adviser to the Soviet Government in Russia where he has died in the meantime."

No competent intelligence researcher has been able to trace these two mysterious sources. I happen to know them. They are former Cavalry Capt. Dietrich von Kuebler and the writer Guido Möder. They "revealed" the details in a pamphlet, "Soviet Agents Everywhere," called a "Report of the Intelligence of the Russian Emigration," i.e., the White Russian emigration from Czarist Russia, published in 1923. The pamphlet is based on the ideology of the notorious "Protocols of Zion." For such obscure nonsense Gehlen was easy prey.

Gehlen has the face to add much color to what he calls in his memoirs "the revelation of Hitler's past" that omits the day to day mysterious events of his career as traitor's that Adolf Hitler, Canaris, head of Wehrmacht intelligence at the beginning of the Russian campaign found out that Bormann was a Soviet spy; that Bormann had an informal one-man spyring, leading to which he was recruited to the Soviets the most important secret of the German-Soviet Nonaggression Treaty. There was never such a wireless station.

I was close to General Gause in the resistance against Hitler, fighting in 1932 and a confidential field agent of his, Colonel Peter von Tresckow, his Chief of Staff, and Hans von Dohnanyi, a High Court Justice. There was never a hint of Gehlen's spy activity for the Soviets.

Dr. Otto John, former chief of counterespionage in West Germany, spent the years after his release from prison trying to clear his name of treason charges.

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